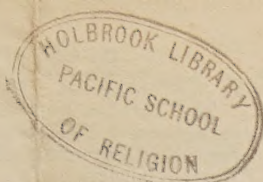


Social Questions Bulletin



The Methodist Federation for Social Action, an unofficial membership organization, seeks to deepen within the Church the sense of social obligation and opportunity to study, from the Christian point of view, social problems and their solutions; and to promote social action in the spirit of Jesus. The Federation rejects the method of the struggle for profit as the economic base for society and seeks to replace it with social-economic planning to develop a society without special class or group discriminations and privileges.

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Number 8

Why India Recognizes China's New Government

BY SIR BENEGAL N. RAU *

Why did we recognize the new Government of China? For a variety of reasons, the main reason being that, according to the best of our knowledge and information, it is a sound and stable government. An eminent authority on international law, Dr. Lauterpacht, in his edition of Oppenheimer's Treatises on this subject says this on the criteria for recognition.

"The government which enjoys the habitual obedience of the bulk of the population with a reasonable expectancy of permanence"

—these are the very words I have quoted in my resolution—

"can be said to represent the State in question and as such to be entitled to recognition. The bulk of the practice of States, at least that of Great Britain and the United States, in the matter of recognition of governments is based on the principle of effectiveness thus conceived." That is the principle which India has followed in respect of China.

Let us look at the matter from another point of view, quite independent of recognition. As I have mentioned in my resolution, and as is well known, the Republic of China is a Member of the United Nations and a permanent member of the Security Council, and as such that Republic has a number of obligations laid upon it by the Charter of the United Nations. Who is to fulfil them? A state cannot fulfil obligations except through some government, and obviously only a government exercising effective control over the territory and the people of the Republic of China can fulfil the obligations laid upon the Republic of China. That seems to us to be self-evident, and so far as India is aware, the Central Government of the People's Republic of China is the only government that exercises this control. Therefore, that is the government that can discharge China's duties and obligations under the Charter.

But how can we require the fulfilment of these obligations and yet deny that Government its rights under the Charter, one of which is the right to be represented in the United Nations? To deny rights and, in the same breath, to insist on obligations is clearly illogical and inconsistent.

The question is sometimes asked, how can we possibly seat here the representative of a puppet Communist government? There is a double fallacy here. According to our information, and we have got quite good sources of information so far as the new Government of China is concerned, that Government is a national coalition representing all sections of the nation, including some members of the Kuomintang, pledged to work a common programme of democratic advance. In our view, it is an independent government. Let me at this point read some extracts from two articles published in The Times of London on 28 and 29 June last. The writer, speaking of communism, says:

* Leader, Indian Delegation to the United Nations.

"It is because it is a Chinese movement, seeking to reform conditions in China, that it has gained such wide support. Few of its followers are really interested in foreign nations or their fate. The mass support of all classes which the regime"—meaning the new regime—"now enjoys is not given to theoretical Communism but to the practical programme of reform and reconstruction which the Party is now carrying out.

"The administration, confined in the executive posts to party members, is impeccably honest; the army is admirably disciplined; there is no nepotism; efficiency and drive have replaced sloth and indifference. Intellectuals and experts, non-Communist in their own views, have been asked to work for the regime in order to reconstruct China, and find a congenial atmosphere in which the expert is appreciated and his advice accepted."

But let us assume that we are all wrong, that the Government of India's view is wrong and that the views from which I have just read out extracts are also wrong. Let us assume that the new Government of China is a Communist Government. Surely, the United Nations is a world organization in which there is room for different systems of government, with different policies and ideals. The United Nations was not intended to be a group of nations all thinking one way and excluding everybody else. So long as a nation of 475,000,000 people remains outside a world organization, that organization cannot be regarded as fully representative.

India has historical and almost immemorial ties of culture and friendship with China. For us, situated as we are and where we are, the friendship of China is desirable and natural. We wish to do everything possible to promote the friendly relations that now prevail between us, because we feel that a free and independent China marching with India will be the most effective stabilizing factor in Asia.

It has been said in various quarters that the Indian resolution (calling for acceptance into the United Nations of China's real government) was defeated by an overwhelming majority, because only 16 countries voted for it, while 33 voted against it and 10 abstained from voting. It must be pointed out that the adverse votes included that of Nationalist China. Leaving that vote out of account as being the very vote whose validity was in issue, I find that the total population of the countries which voted against the resolution was 412 millions, while the total population of countries that voted for it was 809 millions; the abstentions accounted for 117 millions. Lest anybody should imagine that the supporters were mainly the communist countries, I have computed separately the population figures of the indisputably non-communist countries that voted for the resolution. These add up to 527 millions as compared with 282 millions of the communist countries. Thus, on a population basis and even taking into account only non-communist countries, the resolution, far from being defeated by an overwhelming majority, may be said to have been actually carried.

HERE'S THE ANSWER TO YOUR CHRISTMAS GIFT PROBLEM!

Send your friends and relatives subscriptions to the SOCIAL QUESTIONS BULLETIN. \$2 per year; \$1 per six months; \$8 for five gift yearly subscriptions. We will send each recipient an attractive Christmas card announcement with your name listed as donor. And we will send to each one also an extra free copy of "DON'T BE A JERK" an excellent study in racial, religious, and other prejudice—and how to eliminate it. Send us your gift orders today!

A FRIENDLY REPLY TO OUR CRITICS

Reprints available on order—by Administrative Committee action and popular request.

THERE'S STILL LIFE IN OUR CHERISHED BILL OF RIGHTS

Americans not yet cynical about our Bill of Rights will join Methodism's official Christian Advocate in congratulating Supreme Court Justice Robert H. Jackson for his recent courageous decision by which the government's no-bail plea was denied and continued bail granted to ten Communist leaders whose lower court convictions under the Smith Act have not yet been ruled on by the Supreme Court to which they have appealed. Excerpts from Justice Jackson's important decision follow:

"These Communist party leaders were convicted of conspiring to advocate and teach the violent overthrow of the United States Government and to organize the Communist Party for that purpose. They were not charged with any attempt nor with any overt act toward that end other than those incident to such organization and teaching. . . . The Government's contention is that defendants, by misbehaviour after conviction, have forfeited their claim to bail. Grave public danger (also) is said to result from what they may be expected to do. . . . It is difficult to reconcile with traditional American law jailing persons by courts because of anticipated but as yet uncommitted crimes. . . . Post-conviction activities said to be dangerous consist entirely of making speeches and writing articles or editorials, chiefly for the Communist party organ, the Daily Worker. They do not contain any advocacy of violent overthrow of the Government and can only be said to be inciting as all opposition speaking or writing . . . may be said to be incitement. . . . It is said, however, (by the Government) that freedoms of speech or press cannot be invoked by defendants because their speeches and publications constitute a repetition of their offenses, and a continuation of the conspiracy of which they have been convicted.

"If all that convicted these defendants was such utterances as have followed their conviction, there would indeed be doubt about its validity, for I am unable to find in them any word of advocacy of violence either to overthrow the Government or of forcible resistance to its policy. If that inference can be drawn from these utterances, it can equally well be drawn from many other opposition speeches by non-Communists. . . .

"My task would be simple if a judge were free to order persons imprisoned because he thinks their opinions are obnoxious. . . . But the right of every American to equal treatment before the law is wrapped up in the same constitutional bundle with those of these Communists. If in anger or disgust with these defendants we throw out the bundle, we also cast aside protection for the liberties of more worthy critics who may be in opposition to the government of some future day. . . .

"How important it is to avoid handing to the Communist world such an ideological weapon as it would have if this country should imprison this handful of Communist leaders on a conviction that our own highest court would confess to be illegal."

THANKS TO THE FRIENDS AND VOLUNTEERS

The MFSA Executive Committee met on November 18 and voted unanimous and enthusiastic appreciation to the volunteers and friends who have rallied to support of MFSA in this critical and challenging period. Thanks to their efforts, sacrifice, and generosity—MFSA is now out of debt—for the first time in many months. The \$2500 deficit with which MFSA began this fiscal year (June 1, 1950) has been fully liquidated. Continued loyalty, work, and sacrifice can keep MFSA and its program alive and vital; prevent the recurrence of deficit; and even enable us to restore the BULLETIN to its former size and to restore to the national office the office secretary vitally needed. DO LET US KNOW THAT WE CAN CONTINUE TO COUNT ON YOU.

BEHIND THE HEADLINES

The Korean question is now the Chinese question. Their connection in U. S. policy was shown by the simultaneous action regarding Formosa. Chinese policy must seek security on its Korean border.

For the Protestant churches the Korean question became the Chinese question immediately after the Executive Committee of the World Council placed its sanction upon the U. S.—U. N. intervention in the Korean civil war as a "police measure which every member nation should support." At once the Chinese President of the Council (there are six) announced his dissent from that decision and called upon his fellow Christians to stand with him. The response has been wide and continuous. It unites U. S. actions in Korea and regarding Formosa as expressions of the aggression of "American imperialism" and warns against its attempted use of religion—an old theme in China.

A recent statement by 31 prominent Chinese Christians in Shanghai has this to say about our conduct in the war: "We wish further to express our greatest indignation, and lodge our strongest protest, against the criminal deeds of U. S. war planes in recklessly bombing peaceful Korean cities and countryside, and wantonly slaughtering innocent people, women and children of Korea." They appeal to the Christians of the U. S. to stand with them in opposition to this slaughter and to adopt effective measures to halt the policy that led to it.

Says one of our war correspondents: "No one who sees what is happening in Korea talks any more of police action." "A story that no American should ever have to write" says Osborne, senior correspondent in the Pacific area for the Time and Life, as he describes "not the usual inevitable savagery of combat in the field" but "the blotting out of villages where the enemy may be hiding; the shooting and shelling of refugees who may include North Koreans"; the tragic hesitancy of officers who give orders that mean killing women and children.

A prominent French journalist witnessed the trial flight of the carpet bombing which divides Korea into bombardment sectors, each one condemned to complete destruction. "A very good job" he quotes the flyers. Then after describing the results of pouring 3,800 five hundred pound bombs into an area seven miles by three, he adds, "I did not feel particularly proud to belong to the human race."

One day a wire from Korea said: "On the Naktong front our airmen have dropped two hundred thousand gallons of 'napalm' on the enemy." Another French journalist, who saw the results of the "horrible weapon which spread solidified gasoline over a huge area transforming a town or a wood in a few seconds into a mass of flames", says: "soon the whole valley was a mass of flames from twenty kilometers of burning hamlets."

One of our own reporters, writing from the world's biggest battleship, says "A 16 inch, one ton shell from this battleship obliterates anything it hits. . . . Nobody mentions Chongjin. (On which another report said 100 shells were fired). To the young gunners it's just another target—one they can't miss. Most of the time we're seven miles out. It's easy—almost pathetically easy to pulverize a city when you have the stuff we have. But it must be awful for the North Korean industrial center and the 190,000 persons who live—or lived—there."

These are only a few glimpses at the nature of the procedure the World Council approved as "a police measure." Would they do it today with the whole record before them? In Article 6B of the Nuremberg Statutes, under which Nazi leaders and generals were condemned and hung, the "assassination of civilian populations" is classified as a war crime. The U. N. flag cannot justify, no church council can sanctify, mass murder. The use of mass killing and total destruction weapons is still a crime against humanity.

The consequence of an action taken without knowledge of all that was involved is that the World Council now has no moral authority for most of the people of Asia and Africa who see the mass killing in Korea as another example of the white man's attitude to other races. For this large section of mankind, and millions more in other parts of the world, if official Protestantism has no better solution than mass killing to offer for the Korean-Chinese question its religion has no appeal and no power.

H. F. W.

Silver Linings as well as Clouds

MFSA Helped Put Them There

"COLLEGE COLOR LINE CRACKING IN SOUTH"—recent lead of a N. Y. Times article which reported the following:

"Greater progress has been made in the last two years toward breaking down segregation in higher education than at any time since the Civil War. Although the barriers are not down everywhere—a number of colleges admit no Negroes, while others admit only a token few—an unmistakable trend is evident. During this academic year 1,000 or more Negroes are attending classes with white students.

* * * *

This situation would have been considered impossible ten years ago. Responsible educators had warned that any breaching of the segregation line would prove dangerous and might even lead to campus or community riots. Today, these same officials report that the Negroes have not disturbed normal collegiate life in any manner.

* * * *

The Supreme Court decision was partly responsible for the admittance of Negro students to Southern colleges and universities.

Reaction Generally Good

To the surprise of a number of educators, the reaction as a whole has been good. For the most part, the college presidents report, the white students accept the Negroes without any raising of eyebrows or show of hostility. They are quickly accepted as members of the student body, and usually go to ball games with their white classmates, sit beside them in the cafeteria, or share library books with them on equal terms.

* * * *

Three years ago, when the University of Oklahoma admitted its first Negro student to the law school, 200 boys went down to the train to greet them. Later, they removed a small railing that the faculty had erected around his desk as a nod toward legal segregation. Today, many of the white medical students help the Negroes to keep up with their work, because some of them have had a poorer educational background.

* * * *

The University of Kansas City has taken the lead in opening its doors to Negro students. They were first admitted in 1948. At present there are twelve in the day divisions and forty-two in the evening division. Dr. Clarence R. Decker, president of the university, reported there had been no visible evidence of prejudice.

"Not only has no problem yet arisen on the campus," he said, "but the students and faculty generally are proud of themselves, of their trustees, and of their university for being the first in the State of Missouri to accept Negroes without special reservation."

* * * *

THE TIMES study shows that almost without exception the students and the community accept the Negroes on the campuses and in the classrooms without incident.

"There is no indication on the part of white students that Negroes are any less welcome at the universities of Texas, Oklahoma, Kentucky, Arkansas, Virginia, West Virginia and Delaware than at Columbia, Harvard, Chicago, Princeton or any of the Northern state universities," said Walter White, executive secretary, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. "The attitude of the young white people of the South refutes the claims of the demagogues of that region that the abolition of segregation would mean violence and bloodshed."

MFSA members will take interest in the references to the Universities of Oklahoma and of Kansas City. Several years ago the Federation's Secretary visited the University of Oklahoma and helped organize through the Wesley Foundation a local MFSA chapter. At that time no Negro students were permitted at the University; and the new MFSA chapter took as its first campaign and emphasis the task of helping open the doors to all students and of preparing students and faculty to welcome that event.—In December, 1947 the MFSA membership meeting convened (of course, on an interracial basis) at a Methodist school in Kansas City. MFSA's unequivocal stand for racial equality was symbolized at Kansas City by the unanimous election of Bishop Robert N. Brooks to the MFSA Presidency—

perhaps the first time a Methodist Churchwide organization had chosen a Negro President. Quietly and unobtrusively MFSA was making history at Kansas City. A few months later the University of Kansas City also made history—by first opening its doors to Negro students.

While rejoicing in these strides towards democratic education we agree with Dr. DeWitt Matthews, Southern white Baptist pastor of Vineville Baptist Church in Macon, Georgia—that this all presents a great challenge to the church institutions which still cling to patterns and practices of discrimination and segregation. As Dr. Matthews writes in "Light," an official Southern Baptist publication,

"The fact that the armed services, labor unions, and an increasing number of state and Catholic colleges are eliminating discrimination against Negroes is piling up the pressure upon denominational colleges. Court rulings against discrimination in state colleges indicate that when and if educational facilities are equalized, state schools will make this change before denominational schools do.

"Church sponsored colleges are being placed in the position of admitting that what Christ could not lead them to do, legal action is forcing state colleges to perform."

When will our own Methodist institutions lead, rather than lag, in this sphere of Gospel application?

Jack R. McMichael

WELCOME—INDONESIAN REPUBLIC!

By unanimous vote (China's rejected and exiled Kuomintang "government" alone abstaining) the United Nations have welcomed the Indonesian Republic as the U. N.'s sixtieth member.

This is good news to MFSA which has been credited by Dr. Garland Hopkins (friend of Indonesian leaders, then with the Methodist Board of Missions, now with Christian Century) with having played a decisive role in winning our government to a more constructive and friendly attitude towards the Republic when it was first struggling for independence, equality, and recognition.

"A TOTAL PEACE OFFENSIVE" is asked by Walter Reuther in a pamphlet of that title which outlines a gigantic "positive program of economic and social action to eliminate poverty, human insecurity and injustice" through the United Nations. Mr. Reuther asks that we spend as much money on such "positive peace offensive" as we now (he says, justifiably) are spending on armaments. The pamphlet can be ordered from MFSA—or from UAW-CIO, 411 W. Milwaukee, Detroit 2.

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METHODIST FEDERATIONISTS SPEAK

"... I think you have covered every aspect of the subject with clarity, conviction and complete adequacy in interpretation. It is a document that ought to be sent to every member of the Federation, whether they have paid their dues or not, because it has all the source material for the solution of the problems that have been perplexing so many."

Henry H. Crane
Detroit, Michigan

"... you have done a superb job in stating clearly and factually the side of the case that does not often get presented. I don't recall having read such a clear statement refuting the criticisms which have come concerning the MFSA. Please know how much I appreciate this able statesman-like presentation. I believe it will be helpful to many people across the country. ... Blessing on you in your courageous and statesman-like ministry. I trust that somehow out of much confusion and turmoil great good may come. ..."

Thelma Stevens
150 Fifth Avenue

"Here is the completion of 100% of the Cabinet as members and some support for your home Conference. ... The October Issue was tops!"

Dillon W. Throckmorton
Sacramento-Nevada District
California-Nevada Conference

"I think the below-the-belt blow of the Board of Publication is a definite turning point in the church's attitude toward the MFSA. Folk who were rather passive before now see the essential unfairness and future implications of all this witch-hunting. Many letters from up here are going to the Board, Advocate etc. I will not be able to ride my broom to New York for the executive committee meeting in November. ... We in the process of forming a Twin City chapter to replace the St. Paul group. Many of us feel we can be twice as strong and effective thereby. ... Be assured we are standing with and behind you."

Edward S. Martin
Minnesota Chapter

"I have written a letter of protest to Dr. Roy L. Smith and he went to the trouble to reply in a four page communication which was full of good will but also chock full of misinformation and hearsay. It was plain that he was bothered about it all. I shall send him a second letter. In a current issue of Zion's Herald I have also written a public letter. ... These are terrible times in which to have a Christian conscience. There is little doubt about it that whether it all has been plotted or not there is a savage effort being put forth to silence guys like you and me and organizations like MFSA. These people are bitter and relentless. I have learned a lot about the New Testament and the kind of opposition Jesus faced during these recent four or five years. ... I had Rev. Andrew Juvinal come to my house. There were about 14 interested liberals with us and we had a wonderful get together. Andy presented the story of the Federation and created very favorable public relations. We need to go after the laity. I do commend this method to other ministers. Have them invite in known liberals of their parishes and then have a brother minister from another town come in and tell of MFSA. ... I understand that leading churchmen have come out for the Freedom Pledge. Do they appreciate what it means for a school boy, a member of my Sunday School, who last week on the school ground at a hastily gotten up assembly heard a legionnaire shout: 'How many of you hate the Communists? Hold up your hands.' Then for this boy who a few days later refused to sign the pledge because he didn't believe in 'hating anybody' only to be called a Communist by his friends on the playground. Does he know that this is what it might mean?"

Rev. Edward L. Peet
Methodist Church of Mill Valley, California

"Just received the October issue of the BULLETIN. It is really well done and is a powerful statement. ... May I also recommend that we be prepared to use non-violent, non-cooperation with an action to move us from the present premises, and seek to get a wide discussion across the country among Methodists about this issue, if definite action is taken to carry out the eviction."

Darrell Randall
Methodist Board of Missions

"The October BULLETIN was especially grand. Keep up a firm stand, full of Christian good-will, and it will be all right. The local forces grow pretty rugged here now and then, and now it is a now. People so often go down prejudice street."

Clarence R. Wagner
Community Methodist Church
Pacific Palisades, Calif.

"Granted any member may attend the nationwide membership meeting to participate in debate on issues and to vote on policies. But democracy involves more than the granting of certain rights; it also involves making it possible to exercise them. What good is it if every member may attend, debate and vote, if very few can attend, debate and vote? ... As for the democratically elected Executive Committee, let me quote from the ballot you sent us: 'These officers and executive committee nominees were elected by the National Membership Meeting at Wilberforce. Your confirmation is requested; you may substitute names throughout the ballot if you wish.' At least the statement is honest. ... I hope that the Executive Committee will feel constrained to take immediate steps to democratize the election procedures of the Federation. ... I think the constitution should be changed to provide for the election of the National Committee in this way. Each chapter should elect representatives in proportion to the number of paid up members and according to a proper ratio that would have to be determined by study. ... One day area policy meetings would be exceedingly valuable and would be getting as close to the grass roots as we would expect a national organization to approach. ... I have agreed with most but not everything that the Federation has stood for in recent years. I have written letters to editors and participated in public debate in defense of the Federation. The Federation needs more, not less democracy. Let the ordinary members feel that they have a part in the Federation and you will find your financial problems eased."

Rev. E. S. McLaughlin

"Have just received and read the BULLETIN. It's a swell job. You may be interested to know that I gave a talk at the local Rotary Club last Thursday. Our Congressman Mel Price was present. I paid my respects to the Mundt-Nixon-McCarran Bill. Afterwards, Price told me in the presence of a friend that I had hit the nail on the head. 'I don't know why I voted for it, now unless it was just the plain fact that I didn't have the courage to vote against it.' After reading the Attorney-General's comments on the bill I don't see how any honest man could vote for it. Some of the men told me that since it was election time they were going to over-ride the President's veto! ..."

Warren Peters
The Methodist Church,
Lebanon, Ill.

"... Here in Japan this summer a group of American Christian Teachers have been discussing and studying the world political and economic situation. We feel the utter folly of war and still find ourselves caught in its orbit. We see a need for reconciliation among peoples and blocking of efforts in that direction by persons and groups with economic and political power. ... We hope you and others are thinking on these matters too and can give us the benefit of your findings either in the form of literature or personal statement."

Elizabeth Tennant

"I am one of the fifty young people sent out to India by our Board of Missions last year. ... Our work here is great and the time precious. But I always take time out to read the BULLETIN and to keep myself informed concerning the Federation. I find a slight conservatism among some of our missionaries, and 'Methodism's Pink Fringe' brought it out. But so far I have weathered the storm. ... I am watching with eagerness the present situation in Korea and the significance Mr. Nehru and the Indian Congress are playing in its solution. It indicates the important role which India will play in world affairs during the next few years. A very interesting observation to me is the fact that recently, especially since the Korean War, Indian information and propaganda have turned away from the United States. This is true for the official discussions in the Congress as well as newspapers and conversation. Our political and social scheme must take a turn if we are to keep the world with us."

Julius S. Scott
Methodist Boys' High School
Hyderabad, Deccan